1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"not believe in it. They told us a great many things, "which they said were written in the good Book, and "wanted us to believe it all. We would probably have "done so, if we had seen them practise what they pre- "tended to believe, and act according to the *good words* "which they told us. But no! while they held their big "Book in one hand, in the other they had murderous "weapons, guns and swords, wherewith to kill us, poor "Indians! Ah! and they did so too, they killed those "who believed in their Book, as well as those who did "not. They made no distinction!"

They, nevertheless, are sensible that they have many friends among the white people, and only regret that from their being scattered and at a distance, they cannot be useful to them and to each other. Of those whom they know to be their friends, they always speak with warmth and affection. They also speak of the *Gentellemann* (gentlemen) as a particular class among the whites which deserves to be distinguished; but they never apply that descriptive title to a person whom they know to be their enemy, or believe to be ill disposed towards them.

The Indians have a keen eye; by looking at a person, they think that they can judge of his friendly or unfriendly disposition to their race; and, indeed, it has been allowed by many whites who have lived among them, that they are, in general, pretty good physiognomists. They are very quick among themselves in giving a name to a stranger or person of note that comes to them, and that name is always significant or descriptive of something remarkable which they have observed about his person, which serves them to remember him as a friend or otherwise, as the case may be: when they believe a person to be their friend, they will do every thing in their power to oblige him, it being their principle that "good ought always to be rewarded with good." They prefer a plain man, simple in his manners and who treats them with frankness and familiarity. Such a man, they

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say, loves them. From a proud haughty man they do not expect friendship, whatever may be his professions, they think him incapable of loving any body but himself, or perhaps, at most, his equal, and that, they think, an Indian can, in his opinion, never be.

They sometimes amuse themselves by passing in review those customs of the white people which appear to them most striking. They observe, amongst other things, that when the whites meet together, many of them, and sometimes all, speak at the same time, and they wonder how they can thus hear and understand each other. "Among us," they say, "only one person speaks at a "time, and the others listen to him until he has done, "after which, and not before, another begins to speak." They say also that the whites speak too much, and that much talk disgraces a man and is fit only for women. On this subject they shrewdly observe, that it is well for the whites that they have the art of writing, and can write down their words and speeches; for had they, like themselves, to transmit them to posterity by means of strings and belts of wampum, they would want for their own use all the wampum that could be made, and none would be left for the Indians.

They wonder that the white people are striving so much to get rich, and to heap up treasures in this world which they cannot carry with them to the next. They ascribe this to pride and to the desire of being called rich and great. They say that there is enough in this world to live upon, without laying any thing by, and as to the next world, it contains plenty of every thing, and they will find all their wants satisfied when they arrive there. They, therefore, do not lay up any stores, but merely take with them when they die as much as is necessary for their journey to the world of spirits.

They believe, or, at least, pretend to believe, that the white people have weak eyes, or are near-sighted. "For," say they, "when we Indians come among them,

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"they crowd quite close up to us, stare at us, and almost "tread upon our heels to get nearer. We, on the con- "trary, though, perhaps, not less curious than they are, "to see a new people or a new object, keep at a reason- "able distance, and yet see what we wish to see." They also remark, that when the white people meet together, they speak very loud, although near to each other, from whence they conclude that they must be hard of hearing. "As to us," they say, "we never speak loud "when we come together, and yet we understand each "other distinctly; we only speak in a high tone of voice "before a public audience, in council, at the head of our "warriors, or when we are met together for some im- "portant purpose."

The Indians also observe, that the white people must have a great many thieves among them, since they put locks to their doors, which shews great apprehension that their property otherwise would not be safe: "As to us," say they, "we entertain no such fears; thieves are very "rare among us, and we have no instance of any person "breaking into a house. Our Indian lock is, when we "go out, to set the corn pounder or a billet of wood "against the door, so that it may be seen that no body "is within, and there is no danger that any Indian would "presume to enter a house thus secured." Let me be permitted to illustrate this by an anecdote.

In the year 1771, while I was residing on the Big Beaver, I passed by the door of an Indian, who was a trader, and had consequently a quantity of goods in his house. He was going with his wife to Pitts- burg, and they were shutting up the house, as no per- son remained in it during their absence. This shut- ting up was nothing else than putting a large hominy pounding-block with a few sticks of wood outside against the door, so as to keep it closed. As I was looking at this man with attention while he was so employed, he ad- dressed me in these words: "See my friend, this is an

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685 "Indian lock that I am putting to my door." I an-
829 swered, "Well enough; but I see you leave much pro-
"perty in the house, are you not afraid that those arti-
609 "cles will be stolen while you are gone?"—"Stolen! by
"whom?—"Why, by Indians, to be sure." "No, no,"
replied he, "no Indian would do such a thing, and unless
"a white man or white people should happen to come
"this way, I shall find all safe on my return."

829 The Indians say, that when the white people en-
609 camp in the woods they are sure to lose something; that
when they are gone, something or another is always
found which they have lost, such as a knife, flints, bul-
lets, and sometimes even money. They also observe that
the whites are not so attentive as they are to choosing
an open dry spot for their encampment; that they will
at once set themselves down in any dirty and wet place,
provided they are under large trees; that they never
look about to see which way the wind blows, so as to be
able to lay the wood for their fires in such a position
that the smoke may not blow on them; neither do they
look up the trees to see whether there are not dead limbs
that may fall on them while they are asleep; that any
wood will do for them to lay on their fires, whether it be
dry or wet, and half rotten, so that they are involved du-
ring the whole night in a cloud of smoke; or they take
such wood as young green oak, walnut, cherry, chesnut,
&c. which throws sparks out to a great distance, so that
their blankets and clothes get holes burned in them, and
sometimes their whole camp takes fire. They also re-
mark that the whites hang their kettles and pots over a
fire just kindled, and before the great body of smoke has
passed away.

829 They, however, acknowledge that the whites are inge-
609 nious, that they make axes, guns, knives, hoes, shovels,
177 pots and kettles, blankets, shirts, and other very conve-
nient articles, to which they have now became accustom-
ed, and which they can no longer do without. "Yet,"

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say they, "our forefathers did without all these things, 829
"and we have never heard, nor has any tradition in- 609
"formed us that they were at a loss for the want of them; 177
"therefore we must conclude that they also were inge-
"nious; and, indeed, we know that they were; for they
"made axes of stone to cut with, and bows and arrows
"to kill the game; they made knives and arrows' points
"with sharp flint stones and bones, hoes and shovels
"from the shoulder blade of the elk and buffaloe; they
"made pots of clay, garments of skin, and ornaments
"with the feathers of the turkey, goose and other birds.
"They were not in want of any thing, the game was
"plenty and tame, the dart shot from our arrows did not
"frighten them as the report of the gun now does; we
"had therefore every thing that we could reasonably re-
"quire; we lived happy!"

Finally, they think, that the white people have learned 829
much of them in the art of war; for when they first be- 609
gan to fight the Indians, they stood all together in a cluster and suffered themselves to be shot down like turkies. They also make a distinction between a *warrior* and a *murderer*, which, as they explain it, is not much to our advantage. "It is not," say they, "the number "of scalps alone which a man brings with him that prove "him to be a brave warrior. Cowards have been "known to return, and bring scalps home, which they "had taken where they knew there was no danger, "where no attack was expected and no opposition made. "Such was the case with those who killed the Conesto- "goes at and near Lancaster, the Christian Indians on "the Muskingum, the friendly Indians near Pittsburg, "and a great number of scattered, peaceable men of our "nation, who were all murdered by *cowards*. It was "not thus that the *Black Snake*,* the great General

* The Indians gave this name to General Wayne, because they say that he had all the cunning of this animal, who is superior to all other snakes in the manner of procuring his food. He hides himself in [825]

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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829 "Wayne acted; he was a true warrior and a brave man;
"he was equal to any of the chiefs that we have, equal
609 "to any that we ever had."

Thus, the Indians, while they deeply resent the wrongs and injuries which they have suffered, yet pay due homage to worth, bravery and military skill, even in an enemy. Strong as their feelings are, they do not extinguish their sense of justice, and they are still generously disposed to allow that there are great and good individuals among a race of men, who, they believe, have doomed them to utter destruction.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FOOD AND COOKERY.

262 THE principal food of the Indians consists of the game which they take or kill in the woods, the fish out of the waters, and the maize, potatoes, beans, pumpkins, [241] squashes, cucumbers, melons, and occasionally cabbages and turnips, which they raise in their fields; they make [222] use also of various roots of plants, fruits, nuts and berries out of the woods, by way of relish or as a seasoning to their victuals, sometimes also from necessity.

264 They commonly make two meals every day, which, they say, is enough. If any one should feel hungry between meal-times, there is generally something in the house ready for him.

[825] the grass with his head only above it, watching all around to see where the birds are building their nests, that he may know where to find the young ones when they are hatched.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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522 tree. "No, no," replied the Indian, "no shoot or twig, "but the *tree* itself."

648 609 I have spoken before* of the wit of the Indians, and the shrewd and pointed remarks which they occasionally make, but passed rather lightly on the subject. A few characteristic anecdotes will best supply this deficiency.

An Indian who spoke good English, came one day to a house where I was on business, and desired me to ask a man who was there and who owed him some money, to give an order in writing for him to get a little salt at the store, which he would take in part payment of his debt. The man, after reproving the Indian for speaking through an interpreter when he could speak such good English, told him that he must call again in an hour's time, for he was then too much engaged. The Indian went out and returned at the appointed time, when he was put off again for another hour, and when he came the third time, the other told him he was still engaged and he must come again in half an hour. My Indian friend's patience was now exhausted, he turned to me and addressed me thus in his own language: "Tell this man," said he, "that while I have been waiting for his conve- "nience to give me an order for a little salt, I have had "time to think a great deal. I *thought* that when we "Indians want any thing of one another, we serve each "other on the spot, or if we cannot, we say so at once, "but we never say to any one 'call again! call again! "call again! three times call again!' Therefore when [illegible] man put me off in this manner, I *thought* that, to "be sure, the white people were very ingenious, and "probably he was able to do what no body else could. "I *thought* that as it was afternoon when I first came, "and he knew I had seven miles to walk to reach my "camp, he had it in his power to stop the sun in "its course, until it suited him to give me the order that I "wanted for a little salt. So *thought* I, I shall still have "day light enough, I shall reach my camp before night,

* Ch. 6. p. 88.

1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"and shall not be obliged to walk in the dark, at the "risk of falling and hurting myself by the way. But "when I saw that the sun did not wait for him, and I "had at least to walk seven miles in an obscure night, I "*thought* then, that it would be better if the white people "were to learn something of the Indians."

I once asked an old Indian acquaintance of mine, who had come with his wife to pay me a visit, where he had been, that I had not seen him for a great while? "Don't "you know," he answered, "that the white people some "time ago summoned us to a treaty, to buy land of "them?"—"That is true," replied I, "I had indeed for- "gotten it; I thought you was just returned from your "fall hunt."—"No, no," replied the Indian, "my fall "hunt has been lost to me this season; I had to go and "get my share of the purchase money for the land we "sold."—"Well then," said I, "I suppose you got "enough to satisfy you?"

INDIAN. "I can shew you all that I got. I have recei- "ved such and such articles, (naming them and the "quantity of each), do you think that is enough?"

HECKEW. "That I cannot know, unless you tell me "how much of the land which was sold came to your "share."

INDIAN. (after considering a little) "Well, you, my "friend! know who I am, you know I am a kind of chief. "I am, indeed, one, though none of the greatest. Nei- "ther am I one of the lowest grade, but I stand about in "the middle rank. Now, as such, I think I was enti- "tled to as much land in the tract we sold as would lie "within a day's walk from this spot to a point due "north, then a day's walk from that point to another "due west, from thence another day's walk due south, "then a day's walk to where we now are. Now you "can tell me if what I have shewn you is enough for all "the land lying between these four marks?"

HECKEW. "If you have made your bargain so with

[ERRATUM. See cat. 116, p. 348. Analyst]

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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A sharp distinction is drawn between that group of animals considered pure and undefiled in the spiritual sense and the group that has become contaminated through the modification of its diet and behavior brought about by domestication, in brief, wild animals as against the domesticated. The wild creatures are defined as being pure, clean, undefiled, the term used to describe them being pi'lsi·. It is these which the Delaware observant may resort to for food, and for materials required in his economic life, and with them he has spiritual associations.[1] The domestic animals belonging to the white man's realm do not fit in his scheme of things, as they have not been fashioned by the Great Spirit to suit the needs of his red people.[2] It has been difficult indeed for the Delaware doctrinists to adjust the sweeping changes brought about in the economic life of the tribe, in the process of Europeanization, to a creed which pronounces the innovations from an alien world to be defilements. The disappearance of the wild animals, the compulsion of substituting their meat, their materials with those of a pastoral-agricultural civilization have, in the belief of the people, been the cause of their social and physical decline. They consider themselves to be losing vitality in proportion to their departure from old and natural or wilderness ways.[3] Accordingly we find the statement made that the deer, the elk, the bison, the antelope, and other wild animals are not only clean and "pure," but that they are man·i't·u. This we may note, in brief, is a most positive characteristic of Delaware belief.

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This distinction is supported by evidence well expressed by Zeisberger. "They regard the Europeans as a peaceable people, created of God to live according to their own manners and customs, even as the Indians have been created to live in their fashion, especially to sustain themselves by means of the chase. They think it contrary to the will of the deity to adopt, themselves, the manner of living peculiar to Europeans, pointing to fish, animals and birds as each having their characteristic habits. Each creature, bear, deer, or other animals, continues to live in its own way, and it has never yet been observed that an animal has adopted the habits of another. The same principle, they hold, applies to Indians and Europeans."[4]

for the realm of undefiled Nature the Delaware has a definite abstract term, te'koneau'suwak·an literally "wilderness life."

[1] Heckewelder, op. cit., p. 196. In his account we note that the Mohican and Shawnee are very particular in their choice of meat.

[2] The preordained destiny of the Delawares to live as hunters and that of the whites to farm and domesticate is brought out in matter well presented by Heckewelder (op. cit., p. 187).

[3] It may be added that a corresponding idea of clean versus unclean animals is predominant among other Algonkian groups. Correspondence to the Delaware term pilsi may be noted with the same significance in Wabanaki, pils-, Algonquin pi'nsi-.

[4] Zeisberger, op. cit., p. 121.

10: Speck E-4, 5 (ca. 1925) 1931
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and there preparation is made for beginning the Gamwing. And besides, everyone who is to relate a vision and lead a dance, if he has prepared his rattle of turtle shell, shall see to it to bring it with him for the ceremony.

There, in the ancient times the beginning of their worship the Delawares went into camp every month. They worshipped in the Big House for a ten and two day period. But then in a few years a different rule made it every three months. And again it was changed. It was said, "We are hindered in our labor," because of our ceremony. Whereupon for the last time they changed it. It was said, "From now on every six months," the Gamwing will be." But indeed it was discovered that they had become by now too much like the white man in their life.[1] The young Delawares were ashamed, seeing what their elders did. And so by this time it is very difficult for the Delawares to assemble when ready to perform the ceremony.[2]

[1] Among the Delawares, and the affiliated Nanticoke as well, the term cowa'na, denoting "salt water" came to be used in a dignified sense referring to Europeans, since they first appeared from the sea. In the vernacular, less respectful in its sense, the white man was also known as o'ping "white face" also denoting "opossum." This is more of a sobriquet in Delaware. The allusions to Europeans in other Eastern Algonkian languages did not follow the principle of Delaware usage, for the Munsee, awe'nik the plural of "who?" (Brinton, The Lenape and their Traditions), the Mohegan-Pequot, wa'naks, derives also from awa'n, "who"; Wabanaki, awa'nute, awe'nute of similar derivation.

[2] It would appear that the weakening of devotion has been a characteristic modern tendency among the native pagan groups as well as among Christians.

Such was the ruling long ago how several different kinds of spiritual-forces were existent, how, it was said, all the wild animals and birds as well as the creeping wild creatures are the ones to be mentioned[1] in the Big House.

The pure[2] animals and birds only are used when they prepare meat. This is the reason why every one of them, even that Mask-Spirit, and all their kind including the Tortoise,[3] are called man-i't-u. It is because he it is who carries our mother's body.[4] And the bird is used there to be eaten. And these feathers of him are ceremonially used when they sweep clean[5] the beautiful-pure White Path, our father's, the Great Spirit's road.[6] Wherefore a person will appear fine when dress-

[1] This means ceremonially; mention by symbolical references to pay them respect and to acknowledge their rule in the departments of nature.

[2] For further details concerning the "pure, clean" creatures see the outline discussion page 50.

[3] Note the use of the same term (ta'xkoxke) for both the creature itself and the tortoise-rattle. The latter is regarded as being the actual living creature in its ceremonial guise.

[4] The Delaware metaphor referring to the earth.

[5] The term used denotes, "they purify by sweeping clean," meaning to clear away latent malific spiritual forces that might lie in the White Path. This symbolically removes possible spiritual pollution from the course of the wor-

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

626 ness was accomplished, not by a fear of authority, but by everyone's fear of wounding someone else's self-esteem and thereby laying himself open to aggression. In order not to antagonize another, the individual had to be very circumspect in his behavior and avoid showing his own aggressive motives. There were a variety of institutionalized techniques which functioned to forestall possible antagonism-arousing situations. "They are not quarrelsome, and are always on their guard, so as not to offend each other," said Heckewelder, and Zeisberger made similar observations.[39]

[831] Swearing was unknown (although obscenity was not tabooed).[40] Persons suspected of ill-doing were not accused openly; public or private disapproval was communicated by subtle allusions or by the

●[609] recital of a "dream."[41] Strangers and visitors were always treated politely; and negative replies to embassies from other communities were couched in ambiguous terms so that the matter was shelved rather than

576 contended over.[42] An elaborate code of
521 etiquette governed the men's talk. "Their common conversation turns upon hunting or the news of the day. Matter that has no foundation in fact may be drawn into conversation, and even though all may be aware of this, the narration continues uninterrupted. They may laugh now and again but they will listen attentively. No one interrupts another. When one has finished another begins. They never put any one publicly to blush; they are polite to each other and enjoy being politely treated. They like to be regarded as worthy people even though they may be the opposite. They are pleased to know that

796 they are liked."[43] Religious observances
776 (such as the periodic obligation to give a dance for a sacred mask) were performed under an almost obsessive fear that negligence, by offending the supernatural owner, would call down an indefinite but

39. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 145-146; Zeisberger 1779, p. 115-116.
40. Zeisberger, 1779, p. 85.
41. Zeisberger, 1779, p. 120.
42. Heckewelder, 1819, p. 150.
43. Heckewelder, 1819, pp. 103-104; Zeisberger 1779, 115-116.